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/448 cont./
Hyades (q):305 collected and wrote down many terms.

γ. Its Accessories

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The Fuegian family spends more than half the days of the year and most of the hours of a day in the canoe. Since they travel restlessly from one camping place to another, they always take all their /Fig. 28 appears here/ belongings, little though

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Fig. 28. Leather Hand Protector.
Two-thirds natural size.

that is. For the man his weapons are indispensable, and the woman must always have a few little things handy. We shall not speak of all these things here, but rather, only those that are indispensable adjuncts to an ânan (137).

137. Lothrop (b):145 says: "When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of baskets, two fire-tongs, four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet), dip-net, club, grass mooring rope or thong, bark bucket, fish-line" /cited in English/.

/448 cont./

396 The oars are regarded as part of the most essential equipment. The man makes them of beechwood for his wife. With a bone wedge (Fig. 26), he splits a trunk about 20 centimeters thick into a plank that he cuts and planes with sharpened pieces of mussel shells. In order to be able to grasp the shells better and 396 also to protect his hand against wood splinters, he uses a scrap 293 of leather which is like a mitten (Fig. 28). It is cut nearly trapezoidal in shape from the thick hide of a sea lion, and the two corners of one of the narrow ends are tied together with a little bundle of rushes. This makes a narrow opening through which one sticks the three last fingers of the right hand. The little piece of leather now covers the entire back of the hand and these three fingers, so that they are adequately protected.

/449/ Planing and smoothing the wood is an irksome task. 396 Particular difficulties are encountered at the place where the 501 shaft runs out from the blade because at that point the blade is usually left wide and has an edge. In most of the oars, all of which lack a special handle, one part gently and gradually leads over to the other; they are lancet-shaped, so to speak. The shaft is about a third of the entire length. It is noteworthy that the blade is never sharply differentiated from the shaft, but more or less gradually runs into it (138) and rounds off more narrowly

> 138. This very strikingly distinguishes it from the woman's oar of the Halakwulup, which has an absolutely rectangular blade, as I duly showed (Gusinde [o]: 547). The measurements for the oars of the Halakwulup are also larger as a whole. Pickering:19 had already observed: "The [Yamana-] Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the North-western tribes" /cited in English/.

at the end. The center of the blade is always thicker than the edges and has a completely flat center rib. /Fig. 29 appears here./ Lothrop (b):147 says briefly: "The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade

X 881 292

/846 cont./

In former times when the Yamana were not yet wrapping their bodies in the disgusting rags of European culture, they used longer strips of skin covered with down, which they drew over the body and limbs in different directions. Still more often they made pads of small bunches of down (266) which they /847/ wound

266. To this day the Halakwulup have adhered to the long, narrow strips of skin with down feathers, and they use these at the youth initiation as well as during the men's secret ceremony. See Figs. 9 and 10 in Gusinde (bb).

with tendons and braided. They were known as [illegible]axwe̊xweni. The hapaxél was formerly also made in this fashion. In modern times this is no longer done, because this decoration could not be put on over European clothing, nor would it be effective. The hapaxél has no significance other than as ornamentation.

X 881 293

The second indispensable object which every participant has and which he makes for himself at the very beginning is the dance staff. Its length varies between 50 centimeters and 70 centimeters. At the lower, pointed end it is about the thickness of one's thumb; toward the top it is a little thicker. The surface, freed of bark, is scraped quite smooth with a mussel shell. It is first smeared with a thick layer of white color, and after it is dried, red lines, circles, and dots are drawn on it. Usually a small ring of bird skin with down is also applied a short distance from the point and the end (cf. Plate 3).

During the singing and dancing the Yamana hold this stick crosswise and grasp it lightly with the fingers of both hands. They swing it up and down gently in time to the music and in very lively fashion during exciting songs. When the overseer or another man gives the customary instructions to the uswåala, he grasps the staff at its thick end, holds it upright on the ground, and leans his hand lightly upon it. The leader also does this when he gives orders, and similarly every man who tells a myth and every candidate when he is requested to take up this staff. The dance staff thus expresses a certain formality.

/847 cont./

X881 293 It is, naturally, the duty of the one who owns it to guard it carefully. When it is not needed, the Yamana push it into the ground beside them with considerable pressure, since it has a sharply pointed end. Some of them stick it behind them into the weave of the hut framework. For many hours every day each adult places his hand on the staff standing beside him. This fits in very well with the rigid position which everyone must maintain, even in sitting. It is regarded as irreverent to let the staff lie on the ground. A person who lets it fall out of negligence must be prepared to suffer misfortune or physical harm. Neighbors threaten him, saying that he or his children will soon die. Hence everyone treats his dance staff carefully and often renews the painting on it.

X881 533 After several hours of squatting quietly and gravely composing their thoughts, first one and then another of the participants will feel an urge to start a soft, rhythmic humming which during the next 20 to 30 minutes becomes a low singing. It is an uninterrupted repetition of a hō sound, the pronunciation of which varies a little, being more open or closed, drawn out or short, higher or lower, but continued on the same pitch, according to the voice quality and the momentary enthusiasm of the singer. Everyone sings to himself, rhythm, tempo, and pitch being half-subconscious, according to his inspiration at the moment and without regard for the other /848/ inmates of the Great Hut. It is only now and then, if one of them listens a little to another, that several people sing somewhat in unison, but these great variations in singing little disturb or annoy even sensitive ears because everyone sings his tune in a low, soft voice.

The fact that the greater number of those present has lapsed into singing shows that they are to a certain extent spiritually moved, and this state finds an outlet in rhythmic singing. Soon their frame of mind and inner feelings are such that the celebration will be successful and effective. As soon as it has reached the point of general singing, the čiẽxaus celebration seems to have begun. From now until the end of the affair, the singing must not cease. At least one voice must carry it on, and one adult relieves another day and night. The singing is an indication at any given moment of the degree of enthusiasm and mood of the extent of participation and lively attention of all those present.

X 881 302 /860 cont./ the same drawing for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they are not exclusively reserved for the uš̌wáala. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X 881 292 The adult participants really should always wear their hapaxél, the narrow headband (p. 693); the sponsor attends to this duty for the candidate. He himself makes the hapaxél for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /861/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X 881 293 Besides the hapaxél, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X 881 292 293 /862/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681) that the čiéxaus hut, according to the original Yamana conception, actually represents an alá̆in, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapaxél symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alá̆in ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the čiéxaus constantly wear the hapaxél and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.—Analyst]

1: Gusinde--807 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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Plate 3.

Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

Dance Staff.

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakē̆l is like the kŏčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxē̆l, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
● 293 those who take part in the so-called fight of
the yamalašemóina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiḗxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
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Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

X 575 302 292

/1351 cont./ the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1352/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 85, b (p. 790).

X 575 293

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yoúlox stories, the candidate holds

X 515 293

/1352 cont./

one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry ímí powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 713).

X 175 516 785

If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the uswáala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1376 cont./

X575 variety to refresh them and arouse them to great enthusiasm. In the final analysis, of course, the deceptive performances of the masked men lack any urgent necessity. When their curiosity, which is sometimes extreme, and their fun in deceiving the women by supposed spirit appearances are satisfied, further performances do not hold enough enjoyment for them to counteract their slowly mounting boredom and the weariness caused by the same repetitions. In that case quite unimportant external reasons bring about the desire to terminate the Kina festival and there is not the slightest inner resistance on the part of any of the participants. I was assured that the men were usually content with two or three weeks, but they have stayed together a shorter or longer time according to whether they felt so disposed or were obliged to separate for some reason.

Each time, however, the leader discusses the matter with the older men, and if all more or less agree he chooses the same evening or the next evening for the so-called Makáinkina, the formal closing scene. The younger men, of course, yield; the uswáala are particularly pleased to be freed from their unnatural position. The purpose of this final ceremony is to drive away all melevolent spirits from the Kina hut and its vicinity. All the [302] men paint only their faces with a simple decoration, a white transverse line as wide as a finger, which starts below the septum of the nose and extends to each ear lobe. To this is added either a red line along the entire bridge of the nose or a varying number of fine red lines between the lower eyelid and the above-mentioned white transverse line. Each man winds his apawéza around his forehead. Thus adorned, all the men form a closed circle around the hut fire. The leader or an influential yékamus [293] holds a stick -- similar to the dance staff used in the čičexaus (p.694) -- the upper third of which is painted white. He holds the stick vertically, like a baton, in his right hand with his arm outstretched. When he lifts it, all the men break into a wild hit hit... which they repeat for two or three minutes. Suddenly they cease and immediately add sharp, shrill š sounds which are followed by croaking cries of te te... in quick succession. Meanwhile each man again and again stretches out both his arms, his open palms forward, in unmistakable warding-off motions. After

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 flanked by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

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FIG. 90.—*a*, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2361); length of stick, 5 in. *b*, Kelp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

344 352 531 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red, white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227§)

343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 293 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*haperuúra*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pugal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hekel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matámia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistúka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.